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WEDNESDAY
OCTOBER 13, 1954

Mendès obtained 350 votes against 113 on his confidence motion last night. The Socialists gave him 103 ballots. So for the present he can press forward confidently. The Socialist vote is very interesting, for it obviously disposes of his contention that even if the EDC had been backed with the full authority of the Prime Minister it would not have passed. Actually, it would have been ratified rather easily, as this event has proven, if Mendès had strongly backed it.

For the United States, provided the Saar question is settled and ratifications ensue in the various parliaments, the outlook is good. We are back, in effect, to the summer of 1950 when Dean Acheson announced the necessity of a German military contribution to the defense of the West. In a desperate attempt to prevent the constitution of a German National Army, Pleven, then Prime Minister, proposed in October 1950 what later became the EDC. The Paris conference on the Pleven plan commenced work February 15, 1951, and the Treaty was signed in May 1952.

The French claim the London agreement as a great triumph for their diplomacy. Let them do so, and derive any attendant benefit they can, is my wish. What actually/is said to have occurred was that when Dulles made his unexpected visit to Bonn and afterwards to London, he so alarmed Churchill and Eden over the possibility of an American retreat into peripheral defense that they determined to make an offer to France of a magnitude theretofore unknown. The United States knew what was projected considerably in advance of Mendès being seized at the conference table of it. We were naturally very pleased, for the orientation of the Federal Republic to the West seemed to us the indispensable element in the equation.

The Quai d'Orsay officials are preening their feathers. I approve of it, for the previous air of sensitive and injured national pride was unhealthy. My friend Parodi, who tortured his conscience because he was opposed to the European

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policy of his chiefs, Schuman and Bidault, can now be at peace. How the decisions of a foreign minister could be disregarded, almost openly opposed, and secretly sabotaged by his assistants is a rationalization of the obligations of civil servants probably unique in the annals of diplomacy. Fortunately for human pride, one's ears rarely hear the rude things uttered by one's foreign colleagues. The Quai officials are glorying in their supposed success in attaching Great Britain to the Continent, apparently unsuspecting that the cardinal objective of British European policy for years has been a united front with the United States and Canada from which France would preferably be excluded. It was the U. S. insistence on allocating to France a part of our occupation area in Germany that initially gave France rank as one of the three so-called great Western powers. It was the United States that, in the teeth of Churchill's eloquent blandishments, refused a reversion to the U.S.-U.K. relationship of World War II days.

The German Trojan horse has been wheeled into the citadel. If the present projects are carried into execution, the representatives of the Federal Republic will not be mute in NATO. The latent nationalism in Germany, sedulously repressed by the Chancellor, will one day assert itself to our confusion and concern. The scramble for place will create embarrassing incidents. The Pentagon will probably sponsor inclusion of a German warrior in the Standing Group, on the not unsubstantial ground that the Germans possess more first-hand knowledge than the rest of us on Russian military tactics and strategy. It is ironical that France, the most suspicious and fearful of the implications of German rearmament, should swallow this bitter pill after spurning a less noxious prescription.

I am personally — a thing of no moment — caught in a paradoxical crossfire between Senators who accuse me of "softness" and too much sympathy for France,

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and the Mendès militants, who charge me with over-sympathy for the Germans. No Frenchman could be more fearful of a revival of German militarism than I am. Eternal vigilance is the only safeguard against it. I have a profound admiration for Adenauer, one of the truly remarkable political figures of our times. But to date I see no reason to believe the underlying nationalistic philosophy of the German people has undergone a radical change. True, it is not presently a nation desirous of springing to arms. But it cannot be unaware of its favored position, oscillating between East and West, or of the bargaining possibilities springing from, if for no other reason, the mere facts of geography. The political problem of the last years has never been the armament of twelve German divisions; it has been the entrapping of the Federal Republic in an organizational snare of Occidental culture and ideals.

Mr. Schreyer came over to see me from USRO this morning. He has been queried from Washington as to whether his organization can be useful from a public relations standpoint in connection with obtaining a favorable vote from the French Parliament on the London Agreement. I told him I thought it was unnecessary in the first place, and secondly, even the best-intentioned American intervention in such a matter was likely to be contraproductive. If an accord on the Saar is reached between the French and Germans, it seemed to me ratifications in the French and other Parliaments would not be difficult to secure. The United States Government had heartily backed the various French proposals for European unity but, since the rejection of EDC and the coming into being of an alternative satisfactory to us under the circumstances, I thought it advisable for the United States Government to remain in the background. This would not mean we had lost sympathy for European unity, but if a movement in that direction were to be revived it was the affair of the Europeans and not of ourselves.

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If this did take place, no doubt the United States Government would express its sympathy and encouragement.

Donald Downes called on me. He has received a permit to reenter Italy on a temporary basis and have the charges against him finally decided. This has made him happy.

He had read the articles in The New Statesman and Nation about me and wanted to write a letter on the subject. I asked him not to do so. Although the charges were entirely false, it appears to me better to disregard them.

Hervé Alphand came out to have a drink with me tonight. He is philosophical about his own fate. He is still on the payroll of the Quai d'Orsay at a reduced rate and has no idea what the future holds in store for him. I gather he would be willing to take a new post now that the French Assembly has finally disposed of EDC. Nevertheless, Mendès-France may not wish to offer him one. Therefore, he remains suspended in uncertainty.

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